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reversals) the Congress Election Board and some other parties have been careful to choose candidates who were Badagas, since this is the preponderant community in the Nilgiris. Until 1967 the electorate was clearly more interested in the candidate than his party's platform; but in 1967 this preference was reversed, owing to opposition party propaganda and the failure of earlier Congress representatives to satisfy educated young Badagas.

The first Badaga to enter provincial politics was H.B. Ari Gowder, a university-educated Gauda. His village was close to the European towns of Wellington and Coonoor, and his father (a former cowherd) was involved in lucrative construction work on the railway. Ari served for three terms as a member of the Madras Legislative Council before the Second World War and then had three terms in the Madras Legislative Assembly. He was defeated by a Congress candidate in 1946, but in 1952–1957 had another term as an Independent M.L.A. In his early political career he was an Independent but with leanings towards the Justice Party (which tended to support British rule and oppose the dominance of the provincial administration by Brahmins); and ever after he remained an Independent, despite a general sympathy among Badagas for the Congress movement. This man clearly achieved much political influence and perhaps charisma by entering public life in 1924 and capitalizing on the wealth and popularity of his father. Up to his death in 1971 he was undoubtedly more powerful among Badagas than their paramount chief.[19]

As Diagram 9 indicates, Ari Gowder's relatives followed him into the political arena. In the 1957 elections for the State Assembly his sister's husband was elected, and in 1962 the Communist candidate was his nephew; in the same year his brother's wife, the first Badaga woman to graduate, ran for Parliament on the Congress Party ticket and was elected. In 1967 she was defeated by a former Congressman, a well-educated Gauda from the Ke:ti area who represented the rightist Swatantra Party—the first time since Independence that a winning Badaga candidate was from a party other than Congress. In the State Assembly election of that year Congress also lost to an Independent and a D.M.K. (Dravidian Progressive) candidate (both Badagas). As a result the national Congress government, which the electorate held responsible for the poor rice ration, has been trying to regain favour with Badaga voters by locating in the Nilgiris during the later 1960s a German agricultural project, a

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582 583 for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

565 454 No longer are the wealthiest families members of the gentry. The latter have recently been supplanted by *parvenus* with the ability to wield more influence and political power. These *nouveaux riches*, contractors, businessmen, dealers in illicit liquor[5] and plantation owners, have wherever possible reinvested their earnings in tea or coffee estates and private bus lines. Occasionally, too, this new-found capital has been invested in Badaga-owned businesses in the towns. Another popular type of investment is in sending sons to college, which can bring prestige to a family in a short space of time. Men who obtain degrees in law or medicine are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, where they usually practise, but those who manage only a B.A. or B.Sc. find it brings some prestige but rarely a well-paying job. Nevertheless, upwardly mobile families wish their sons to take a bachelor's degree and then to settle down in their home villages and farm the land.

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184 556 Among those wealthy enough to expect or to pay a substantial gift at marriage, fulfilment of their traditional roles in the society can become a problem-laden, anachronistic burden. Such men may command annual incomes a hundred times greater than the average for other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly apparent inequality the wealthy are constantly plagued by importunate villagers and distant relations, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate traditional bonds of kinship or friendship so as to grasp their share in the power and influence of the *nouveaux riches*. It is therefore not surprising that the wealthiest Badagas have tended to leave their natal villages and build themselves comfortable houses in a town or in the middle of their tea estates. As the wealth of these families grows and as the possibility of their upward mobility, as modern Indian families rather than Badaga villagers, becomes a reality, their attitudes towards the traditional society and its marriage regulations change. No longer are the requirements of their old culture so demanding or so relevant, for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society whose aims and ideals are for them represented in the morality and the cultural paraphernalia of modern romantic Indian films.

(966) (177)

THE NEW FACTIONS

578 By the end of the nineteenth century there may have been several

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Film-Going Habits

In the eyes of many Badagas one of the greatest benefits of the bus system is that it permits frequent trips to cinemas in the towns. Most families now see films often, and what they see has a great impact on them. Some of the most popular films are dramatizations of Indian history or of epic stories which reinforce traditional ideas about Hinduism and the nature of the universe. But equally popular are the films about modern life, about social problems like divorce, widow remarriage, 'love' marriages and intercasts marriage; dramas which are presented against a background of affluence that is unfamiliar yet fascinating to the villager. These modern themes extol city life, non-traditional marriage practices and luxury goods such as cameras, watches, radios, mechanical toys and sports cars. The impact of these films is already clear: younger Badagas yearn for watches, motorcycles, and all the other paraphernalia they have come to associate with modern urban life.

Radio

Among the most commonly desired gadgets are transistor radios, which are appreciated partly as a source of light music and partly as a prestige symbol. Only the weathier Badagas own radios, but every village has at least one set, either owned privately or provided by the government; many teashops also have radios. All-India Radio presents much government propaganda, especially talks directed towards improvement of farming and village co-operatives. These broadcasts—in the Tamil language—are not very much listened to, because the vast majority of village radios are constantly tuned to light music coming from the commercial Radio Ceylon. In a sample of 420 Badaga men and women in 1963, 17% said they never listened, 16% only heard music, 38% heard news as well as music, 14% listened specifically for news broadcasts and only 2% mentioned informative talks as being of interest to them.[14] The higher the incidence of *regular* listening, the higher the popularity of news broadcasts, two variables correlated no doubt with the length of time a village has been electrified.

Newspapers

My survey on the use of the media in 1963 showed that radio is

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Todas or Kotas: the old fear of witchcraft lingers on. In the middle age-group of the sample (35 to 54 years) there was a significant correlation[15] between dislike of Kurumbas and a feeling that the world in general is a dangerous and evil place—an interesting confirmation of our earlier assertion that witchcraft accusations against Kurumbas have in the past been associated with general feelings of insecurity and stress (see above, pp. 200–201).

In general Badagas feel little compunction to maintain an association that is clearly not economically feasible. Among the indigenous peoples they are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new orientations, which help them secure a place in the national economy and society at the expense of their traditional position in Nilgiri society. While Kotas, Kurumbas and even some Todas are adopting the Badagas as a model, Badagas are following urban Tamilians and Christians in valuing the products of modern technology, seeking monetary profit, good education and a westernizing life-style they think acceptable in a modern urban context.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We have already commented on changing patterns of marriage and residence and will now examine how the position of the gentry and the roles of the individual have altered with recent changes in the social structure. The central idea in this discussion is that social structure can usefully be defined as a system of linked network-clusters and that the status of a villager is determined by his position in these clusters.

The distinction between gentry[16] and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all families can be assigned to one category or the other by those who know them. Perhaps five per cent of the community is now considered as gentry. Until the mid-nineteenth century the most prestigious family of gentry was the largest family possible. This was often achieved through polygynous marriages; in one case in the 1950s, probably a record for Badagas, a wealthy but infertile man had five wives simultaneously. In these families men were often several decades older than their wives; I know of a case where the husband was over 90 when the youngest of his three wives was 26. Polygyny, however, is no longer common.

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During the latter part of the last century there was a transitional phase when neither the size of the gentry family nor its wealth determined its status: its influence derived mainly from its reputation or strength of character, we are told. In this century all Badaga families, whether gentry or not, have a prestige commensurate with their wealth: the unusually affluent family now receives the respect and wields the power of a gentry family even though it is not one.

Generally all the headmen and their key assistants belong to the gentry; and during the nineteenth century the British appointed *manegars* and *karnams* from among the gentry, too.[17] In the twentieth century, as we have seen, literacy was considered more important than birth in these appointments. In fact this century has witnessed a shift away from ascribed status towards achieved status. It is now becoming less relevant whether a man was born to the gentry or is a Ha:ruva or Torea than whether he has acquired college education and a good job. However, even though there are now signs of socio-economic classes emerging, rural Badagas do not yet discuss their social life in terms of such distinctions as landed/landless, wealthy/poor or educated/uneducated. Individuals are known to vary in these qualities but so far the variation is a matter of degree and has not been schematized in Badaga thinking into a series of neat dyadic contrasts.

In the operation of their social system today the Badagas recognize a dozen major criteria for social differentiation,[18] which they do conceive as the following dyadic contrasts:

(1) Man/woman
(2) Adult/child
(3) Nilgiri/non-Nilgiri
(4) Badaga/non-Badaga
(5) Gentry/non-gentry
(6) Lingayat/non-Lingayat
(7) Vegetarian/meat-eater
(8) Our phratry/other phratries
(9) Agnates/affines (or our clan/other clans)
(10) Our village/other villages
(11) Factional divisions
(12) Hindu/Christian.

This classification is one of cross-cutting categories: each person can place himself and everyone he normally interacts with on one side or the other of each category. These are at different levels of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

554 generality and have different relevance depending upon circumstances. An individual's position on each of these contrasts constitutes a role, entailing certain well-recognized expectations of behaviour on appropriate occasions.

182 554 How does a social system fragmented by cross-cutting divisions keep from falling apart into small splinter groups? The answer lies with the interaction patterns which are indicative of social cohesion, which mark out the clusters of networks and which counteract the long-standing factional disputes. Four major types of public reciprocity, of which the first is the most widespread, hold together the people separated by these cleavages: (1) public discussions; (2) the exchange of women in marriage; (3) joint participation in ceremonial meals; and (4) the exchange of goods and services. All four are types of communication, and to operate as such they must depend on network clusters; in other words, reciprocity can only be maintained on a continuing basis when it activates a persisting social structure. Badagas do not offer their goods, their meals, their daughters or even their conversation in a haphazard way to *anybody*: the social structure, analysed by Badagas in terms of these dyadic contrasts, determines quite clearly who shall receive certain goods and services, who shall marry the daughters and so on. Not only is the pattern of reciprocity dictated by the social structure—by the positioning of network clusters—but it in turn gives coherence to that structure: there is a dialectical process in the integration of the society. If Badagas were to recognize the emergent socio-economic classes as a new criterion of social differentiation their communication networks, patterns of reciprocity and system of role allocation would all have to be drastically revised. At present they prefer to (178) think somewhat anachronistically in terms of their old social organization, for it provides a reassuring stability to present-day social relations.

156 183 Although the social system assigns an individual to certain positions from birth, however, he continuously adapts himself to what he perceives of the shifting organization of network-clusters. In these adaptations the individual has a certain amount of choice. It is clearly limited by what he considers to be the relevant expectations of his fellows; but cultural norms do not dictate role change so absolutely that a man is unable to exercise his personal preferences. Cultural orientations are used by a Badaga to bolster or direct his motivations in the pursuit of the valued ends of his

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9. See above, pp. 166, 168. On the designation of Badagas as a caste, see Hockings, 1968 b, *passim*.

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10. Ward, 1821, lxv; see above, p. 142. Until 1878 the mails were carried by teams of runners; Grigg, 1880, 408.

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11. The district is unusually well endowed in this respect, for it is only the size of Warwickshire or Luxemburg and slightly smaller than Rhode Island State. From Ootacamund some of the major cities of South India are also served: Madurai, Salem, Mysore, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Palghat and Calicut (Kozhikode).

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12. India, 1962, 133; Moses, 1964, 33, found 73% of Badaga males and 50% of females literate ($N = 200$). My sample in 1963 was 420.

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13. There are a few who combine the business trip with a pilgrimage, but this is not usual.

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14. This purposive sample was drawn from 656 interviews in the district.

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15. $Chi^2 = 5.18$, $P < 0.03$. This middle-aged group had grown up during the slump which spanned the 1930s and which is reflected in the low food-grain prices of those years; see Madras, 1965, 37.

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16. *manetana*, literally 'house-stage' or 'house-level'; compare Kannada *manetana*, translated as 'household,' 'race, family' by Kittel, 1894, 1207, the connotation being a family of worthy people.

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17. Grigg, 1880, 366. These were village magistrates and clerks; see above, p. 172.

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18. These social distinctions have over a century of history. They are crystallized in various proverbs as well as being universally recognized normative concepts. One proverb, for example, runs: 'Though it is hot water it will extinguish fire.' This refers to group loyalties: though we may have a friendship with a man of another lineage, village, faction, phratry or community, we will take the side of our own group against his when the need arises. Other proverbs relate to particular social distinctions, e.g., between one village and another:

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'Even if he is headman of his own village, he is not superior to the son of the widow of the last house in another village.'

'If you are not cunning, do not go to Jakkatala; if you are poor, do not go to Ke:ti.'

E.g., between phratries.

'If a crow makes a dropping on you it is a bad sign; if a Ha:ruva shouts at you it is a bad sign.'

E.g., between affines and agnates:

'If brothers curse each other, one can still build his house on his brother's threshold; if in-laws curse, leave and run away.'

'Though she is our sister, is her husband ours?' (In a later work I plan to analyse some 1300 Badaga proverbs).

[p. 238 is blank]

3: Hockings. E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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562 796 in each family acts out the ritual of inquiring after the cattle when the salt-giver returns home. Her questioning of him, her standing inside the kitchen, her hanging up of the three sprigs, her cooking with the special salt, and her feeding of this man before the others constitute a reaffirmation of her household role: she must keep the house tidy, cook the meals, and be solicitous of the man's needs and interests.

622 796 C584 The hamlet headman (who is normally one of the participants in the ceremony) yields precedence to the leader from the Great House on this occasion. The head of each Great House is a kind of priest, while the hamlet headman is essentially a secular official. The headman is responsible for whatever small arrangements are required in staging this ceremony. It is he who should send a message to the relevant Toda friends telling them when the ceremony will be held, and it is he who is responsible for deciding C554 when to begin the procession out of the hamlet. Normally a headman may C576 wear a turban at all times, but on this particular occasion he wears no turban, out of deference to the man from the Great House, the representative of the village's origin.

178 648 The Todas are bound to Badagas by a very complex system of exchanges (Rivers 1906). In the days before a Nilgiri market was opened, the Badaga salt-giving ceremony was the major source for salt needed by the Toda tribe. Today the gift of salt to Todas is still a recognition by Badagas of the help the Todas extend them in various matters connected with herding.

796 648 Kotas, unlike Todas, are considered a polluting tribe, and consequently the Badagas do not invite them to attend this auspicious ceremony. Yet the ties that link Badagas with Kotas are even closer than those with the Todas, and at every point in the ceremony the help of Kota craftsmen is evident. The iron bar (*'ha:re*) with which salt is powdered is made by Kotas particularly for this use; the iron rod (*'uppu'kol*) carried to the stream—which now serves no utilitarian purpose—is made by Kotas; the pot used in the ceremony was traditionally a Kota product although nowadays metal vessels from the market are often used instead; the small knife (*'uppu 'katti*) used in cutting the branches still comes from the Kotas; the hoe and any other tools used in digging the pits are made by Kotas; and the pot in which the meal is finally cooked was traditionally theirs as well. The cattle shed and pen would also have been constructed initially with C718 Kota help. Today, consequent upon a rift in 1028 between the Kotas and most Badaga hamlets, there is much less insistence that Kota products be used in this ceremony, but up to that time such insistence was the rule.

796 In summary, the salt-giving ceremony is one in which each Badaga hamlet expresses its hope and expectations for the bounties that come in the form of cattle, harvest, children, the village society, wild Nilgiri vegetation, and relations with the Toda and Kota tribes. To have the maximum effect in promoting these benefits ceremonially, the participating men put themselves into a state of ritual purity and take great care that nothing inauspicious foil their purpose on this day.

121 796 We can explain the structure of the salt-giving ceremony by reference to certain principles underlying the structure of Badaga society. The per-

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293 umbrellas, so they did without. Conversely men, particularly on formal occasions, carry umbrellas to emphasize their respectability; and men supervising festivals carry staffs to help achieve the effect of authority.

3 SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

539

"Lust is deceitful: I have lost my blanket through it."

(Proverb)

Fertility and Morality

121

3.1. It may justly be asked why a lengthy treatment of sexual behaviour is considered necessary to an account of Badaga medical conditions. Sex is a normal bodily function, and any diseases associated with this function are dealt with elsewhere in this book (6.61-6.62). Yet there are three reasons why the following emic account of sexual behaviour has been put together. One is that a similarly full account of peasant sexual activity seems to be lacking in the literature currently available on South Asia, and so I am able to fill a certain gap with this difficult and necessarily impressionistic essay. Secondly, the genetic effects of sexual practices are quite different from what Badaga marriage rules would suggest. Those rules represent the Badagas as an endogamous community, made up of a number of almost wholly endogamous phratries, and practising preferential cross-cousin marriage. This picture differs from what we may call the breeding pattern, which clearly allows for genetic intermingling between all of the Badaga phratries, and furthermore for Badaga males to contribute to the gene pool of Kotas, Todas and other neighbouring communities. Thirdly, these breeding patterns are obviously tied to the spread of certain venereal diseases. This is of great importance, since there appears to be a positive relationship between degree of religious orthodoxy, hierarchical status of a phratry, and fertility. To be more precise, the Wodeyas, the phratry highest in status, are orthodox, vegetarian, and Lingayat. My impression was that extra-marital sexual licence was less with this phratry than with certain lower-ranking ones, and much less than with the lowest group, the Toreyas. At the same time my censuses of several Badaga villages showed the following average numbers

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615 163 of live children for samples of selected phratries in 1963 and 1972:

Table 3. Average Number of Living Children per Married Woman in Four Selected Badaga Villages (Listed Hierarchically)

	1963	1972
one Wodeya village (highest group)	3.63 (N=35)	3.55 (N=49)
one Adikiri Lingayat village	3.49 (N=43)	3.72 (N=58)
one Gauda village	3.14 (N=84)	3.60 (N=88)
one Toreya village (lowest group)	3.12 (N=17)	3.05 (N=20)

In Table 3, N stands for the number of married women in each selected village for whom the number of living children was ascertainable. In practice this included virtually all wives, including barren wives and second or third wives, but excluded a very few aged widows, in each village population.

(842) The selective factors underlying these statistical differences certainly include differential exposure to venereal diseases and consequent low fertility of some women, either through tubal occlusion or through the miscarriages and congenital abnormalities that syphilis causes. The names of the phratries are listed in hierarchical order, 615 554 163 Wodeyas being the most superior ritually and Toreyas the most inferior. Very impressionistically, and only for purposes of the present analysis, we might label the Wodeyas and Adikiris "upper class," the Gaudas "middle class," and the Toreyas "lower class." With such a categorization we might then expect that the upper class has a higher average of live children because it can afford better maternity and medical care, better food, and the more reliable scientific medical practitioners. Yet nothing could be further from the present case. It is the middle class who get all of these things most 615 554 readily. The upper class phratry of Wodeyas is in fact a poor, and medically conservative, educationally backward group who are upper *only* in the sense of their vegetarianism, exclusivity, and religious orthodoxy (cf. 10.12). Many of their males perform priestly services for the other Badaga phratries as well as farming; many of their villages lie quite close to towns. The middle-class group are (548) farmers, but not priests, and they have the highest rate of contact

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with non-Badaga prostitutes. The lower-class group, as we shall see below (3.7—*c*), has some extra-marital sexual contact with a wide range of other Badaga men, including of course some who have also had relations with diseased prostitutes. Since the four chosen villages are representative in their subcultures of these four phratries, are all accessible to therapists and midwives, are located within three miles of each other in the middle of the plateau, are all at the same elevation of about 6,500 feet, but in no instances were using contraceptives in 1963, it is difficult to avoid explaining the divergence between the average number of children in these families by any other means than this hypothesis: that *there is a positive correlation between socio-ritual status* (*or extent of religious orthodoxy*) *and the fertility of women.* I realize this may sound like moralizing; but it is the census data and not I myself that shows the "good," orthodox Badaga parents to have more live births than those who indulge more in inter-community, extra-marital relations.

The number of stillbirths and abortions is something I know nothing about. In one well-to-do Adikiri farming family which happened to include two skilled midwife-therapists, a woman married at the age of 12 conceived first at 18, and then had a total of five live births and another five miscarriages or neonate deaths. I have no reason to believe either that her husband (whom I know well) was diseased or that her birth history is really atypical.

Sex Education

3.2. A useful way of approaching the matter of Badaga sexual practice is to ask how the individual acquires his knowledge of the matter. The answer is that diverse sources are available, including conversation with others, observation of men and animals, and experimentation. We shall elaborate on each of these in turn.

Conversation on sexual matters occurs not only with members of one's own sex but also with lovers. Since in each case the party with whom one holds such conversation may be either an age-mate or some older person, there is a relatively free flow of information from one generation to another, and between the two sexes. Nonetheless some propriety is observed in seeking the information. Parents do not usually give any sex instruction to their children, nor do elder brothers generally give it to younger siblings or elder sisters to their younger sisters. The mother's brother, who is a kind of

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discover that an adolescent couple related in this acceptable way have become lovers, they try to persuade the two to marry. Should the girl become pregnant this pressure becomes very great.

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It is said that prior to this century parents would make a pair of cross-cousins sleep together in a separate room before they were married. This was so that they might feel certain about their sexual compatibility. If one of them did not in fact like the idea of marrying the other, such an encounter might be arranged on some other pretext, solely in the hope that one cross-cousin would seduce the other and a marriage would result. A girl might even receive instructions from her mother on how to accomplish this and perhaps would be left by her mother at the boy's house for a night or two. Such practices led to hasty marriages, but are no longer followed.

622 837 836 (581)

A special kind of concubine-like relationship occurred until late in the nineteenth century. In those early times headmen had much more authority than subsequently, and local lore maintains that a headman visiting another village where he had to stay overnight would be offered his choice of the young village girls by the host headman. It was believed that a girl so favoured had special merit because of her physical connection with the prestigious visitor, and many men would therefore want to marry her. Although such a brief encounter was not expected to lead to a marriage with that headman, the chosen girl would normally have to be in an affinal relationship — i.e., tentative spouse — to the visitor.

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(*b*) Second in frequency and relative acceptability is a sexual encounter within a joint family. Only two such relationships bear discussion, but genuine incest will be noted below under (*g*).

(606)

It is very rare for a man to have intercourse with his son's wife, even though a Badaga is generally more intimate in his relationship with her than more orthodox Hindus would be.

(607)

What is common however is for a youth to have an affair with his elder brother's wife and doubtless in a few cases with a younger brother's wife. We have already pointed out (3.5) that an elder brother's wife may actually be called upon to provide a young man with his sexual initiation.

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(*c*) The Toreyas have the lowest status of any Badaga phratry, except perhaps for the recently formed Christian one. With a few minor exceptions Badaga marriage occurs only *within* each of the ten phratries. Nonetheless there was a tendency to "hypergamy," if we may call it that, in extra-marital affairs. Toreya girls, and even

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615 some of the higher status phratries, in the last century often managed
582 to talk, kiss or even have coitus with men of superior phratries.
If a Toreya woman had no child, it is said her husband would not
554 be greatly upset to find she was having an affair with a man of higher
837 status, for as that man was "purer" any child that he sired would also be good and pure. It is noteworthy that Wodeya men, who belonged to the highest of all phratries, did not usually have casual relationships with non-Wodeya women (cf. 3.1).

615 It is very shameful for a higher-status Gauda man to be discovered
554 having relations with a Toreya girl. This is because the Gaudas,
836 the majority group among Badagas — regardless of their age and
837 generation level, and although they have no kin ties with Toreyas —
601 call all Toreyas of whatever generation "son" or "daughter." In turn the Toreyas address all Gaudas and higher Badaga phratry members as "grandfather" or "grandmother." Such paternalism acts as a psychological restraint, one Badaga suggested. Similarly Toreya men do not have coitus with Gauda women because they are scared of getting caught at it, and also because calling a Gauda girl "grandmother" is really a deterrent, my informants say. It is noteworthy that if an illicit relationship is developing between a Gauda boy and a Toreya girl they do not address each other by these fictive kin terms but by more endearing terms, which if overheard warn others that something unusual is a foot.

615 (*d*) Less frequently higher-status youths have affairs with girls
554 belonging to another phratry, but one superior in status to the
836 Toreyas.

(*e*) There has been no identifiable class or community of Badaga
548 prostitutes, although in a very few instances women have adopted
837 this profession, usually as an escape from their unattractive husbands. In general though the sexual partners of Badaga men would be described as lovers and mistresses. Beyond the limits of the community altogether some men do also find full-time prostitutes. There is a Badagu term (*ha:tira giti*) for a sexually loose woman: although she has extra-marital relations she tries to be secretive about them. This contrasts with *su:ve*, a woman who, everyone knows, is keeping a man just for sexual satisfaction or to get some favour from him.

548 A kind of borderline case between the mistress and the prostitute
837 (does English have a word for this?) is constituted by girls of the
197 neighbouring Toda and Kota tribes, many of whom are willing to have intercourse with Badaga men, some for the novelty of the

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759 that if this habit became general, the therapists would make themselves equally accessible to all patients.

[844] There is a local tradition that a midwife should be given a new
[431] dress by the child's father after a delivery. It is actually given at the child's naming ceremony or else on the last day of the funeral observation should the neonate die. For the last 15 years of her life Sithamma did not deliver babies herself, but was sometimes in attendance and instructed her assistants. People still offered her the dress, but she blessed it and asked them to give it to somebody in need of it.

Midwives

759 10.6. Through the centuries there has been one special role, out-
●554 side of the family, that has always been held by women, and that is the role of midwife. It has been a position that commands respect for the skill that she must have. Not every woman of course is a potential midwife; but the interested younger women receive some training whenever a delivery occurs in their village. A midwife quite often becomes more than a deliverer of babies. Partly because she is asked to minister to the varied health needs of parturient women and the newborn, she is trusted and consulted and may in time become skilled as a curer of other physical disorders as well. Sometimes she supervises birth among the domestic animals.

759 Often there is more than one midwife in a village; other women
844 are asked to come to a delivery if they have helped with one
[842] before, and of course the girls who are learning midwifery attend. Yet other women will want to come and watch, and barren women may feel that if they attend they might also become pregnant through the magic of contiguity. The small room may therefore be quite crowded and stuffy.

759 Midwives go to their work without necessarily washing first. A
844 midwife is polluted by each birth—for three days if it is the
783 mother's first delivery, for one day otherwise ; but this does not
[515] imperil a midwife's status in the community. If it is a woman's first delivery, the midwife throws her own clothes away, otherwise she just washes them. A high-status Lingayat such as Sithamma removes her *linga* emblem before beginning at the polluting

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Other Specialists

10.8. Midwives and exorcists are specialists, of course, but they differ in status. The midwife deals in the pollution of blood, and is always a female; the exorcist deals in the danger that spirits bring, and is invariably a male. It is thus in accordance with Hindu —and Badaga—thinking that the exorcist ranks higher and the midwife lower in esteem than the more general therapist, whether male or female: one handles supernatural power, the other female pollution.

Aside from these categories, however, there are other specialists who are known for their ability to handle particular types of malady. In the foregoing chapters we have encountered three instances of such people. One was a woman, the grandmother of my informant M. N. Thesingh. At the time of her death in 1941 she had treated "nearly a thousand cases" of infertility in women, and found only half-a-dozen of these to be really barren women. For the rest, she prepared a medicine out of three or four different plants. What they were was a secret she took with her to the grave, for she thought that if she taught the medicine to anyone else it would not work well for either of them. She even told her grandson, "You must discover the technique for yourself." He took this to mean that he should spy on her, and once did so. She used to get up at about five in the morning, wash, and then go out to the fields or the forest. On reaching the spot where the necessary plants grew, she looked around till she saw what she wanted; then, with the plant in front of her, she stood facing the east, her palms touching each other as she prayed. Then she sat cross-legged on the ground at that spot and removed a silver ring from the middle finger of the right hand. This she placed on the plant that was in front of her, prayed again, then replaced the ring and picked the plant. She explained later that the ring was an offering to God ; but her grandson failed to discover the identity of the plants.

One case that is remembered by him illustrates the assurance with which this woman treated her patients. A 19-year old girl was was brought from a very distant village, her problem being that she had never menstruated (or had she, but was afraid to admit it for fear of being married?). She arrived on Wednesday, but the therapist (like her daughter-in-law Sithamma) refused to begin new treatment unless on a Tuesday, Friday or Sunday, which are auspicious days; so the girl had to wait.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

cious days; so the girl had to wait. She started working in a field to while away the time. After several hours the therapist called her over and said the girl need not have come as she would be menstruating in a day or two. And at about five on Friday morning she went out of the house and began her first menses. The woman who had come with her was overjoyed, and fell at the therapist's feet in gratitude. The girl bathed and was given clean clothes, then returned to her village. Such tales enhance a reputation greately; we do not know whether any medicine was involved in getting the desired result. Asked how she could foretell such things, the therapist said that when she went to gather the herbs at dawn and prayed to God, He gave her the information needed. She also got accurate information from her dreams: thus on one occasion she dreamt that part of a wall had fallen in a heavy rainstorm during the night; another time she dreamt there were pigs in the potato field; and yet again she dreamt a particular buffalo was giving birth to a calf. On each of these occasions she woke up, told her grandson, and sent him immediately to check; and each dream was precisely true. In each she could indeed have been stimulated by some actual noise; but the effect was that relatives and neighbours believed in the infallibility of her knowledge, and she was quite famous in the Nilgiris for that.

Another specialist whose work we have described in detail (7.10) is the man who cures Big Wind. As he himself explained, there are three Badagas who know the cure, but he is the only one still able to practise. One of the other men is too old, and the third drank liquor, ate meat and generally led such an impure life that he was not successful with the treatment. The practising therapist in contrast is a vegetarian, and he works over half the Nilgiri Plateau. He never turns away a patient, because it would be sinful to do so, just as he feels it would be sinful to teach the treatment to someone who was not willing to take on every case. This therapist, who was about 80 in 1963, never charges his patients, for he believes the medicine will lose its efficacy if he puts a monetary value on it and on his own labour; but he is willing to accept gifts.

A third specialist whom we have mentioned lives in the village of Kallaṭṭi, and is famed for his treatment of the *ka:male* diseases (7.9). His family have had this speciality for the past three or four generations. He uses the dried bark of a tree that grows on the lower slopes of the Nilgiris, but there are different

175 already some kind of a status hierarchy amongst the various sibs, although it was
614 possibly "looser" than it is in the present century (Harkness 1832: 112). These accounts also show a difference of opinion as to whether the Haruvas or the Wodeyas
175 were the highest group. Hough, in a letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru news-
615 paper in November 1826, said of the Haruvas: "The first class wear the Brahminy thread, and are reverenced as the Neilgherry Brahmins." Thus the Haruva claim to superiority was already in the wind (Hough 1829: 88; cf. Ward 1821: lxxi). In 1830 Harkness found that

> ...the dissimilitude among most of these classes is too trifling to be worthy of remark. The least respected among them are a class [Toreyas] who, as well as being cultivators of the earth, also manufacture a coarse kind of sackcloth; other two of the classes are of the caste who wear the lingam, one [Wodeya] being superior, and qualified to officiate as priests to the whole of the others [Adikaris and Kapakkas] ; and another of the classes [Haruvas] are repudiated Brahmans. These, however, still wear the sacerdotal string, and retain some privileges in the performance of their worship, but they are classed with the other people, and are without any pretensions to superiority over them. (Harkness 1832: 30-31)

The second kind of explanation for the lack of concern about status con-
582 562 gruence when arranging marriages is a structural one, for which there is consi-
(554) derable evidence. It is that the social status of any female is determined entirely by the village in which she lives. Girls before puberty, like small boys, are re-
(561) garded as pure, and for many purposes are treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular set of parents. Thus small girls can enter sacred
(841) places where no woman would be allowed. But once a girl has menstruated, and preferably before that, she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and her status is determined only by
562 the sib and the affluence of that family, never by the status of her own father. The
602 same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where
582 generation level is an important feature in determining relationships. The

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

CHAPTER IV

AFFLUENCE AND FAMILY POSITION

554 From the earlier discussion of the juridical system, it should not be assumed that all men, or at least all above the Toreyas, are able to receive equitable treatment under the Badaga judicial system; and that all men within one hamlet -- and therefore belonging to a single phratry -- are equal in status. While such attitudes can easily be elicited from Badagas themselves, they refer only to an ideal which has never been realized in village life. The prestige of a man's family, his wealth, his age and intelligence are factors always likely to override other considerations when a dispute has to be settled, when a faction seeks 565 support, or when a marriage is being arranged. There is a sort of upper class among the Badagas, composed of families who are conspicuous for their prestige, wisdom, piety and size. They are called manethana, a Badagu word which means literally "house-stage" or "house-level", with the implication of prestigeful level, and which can be roughly translated by the English "gentry". It has a cognate manetana in the Kannada of southern Mysore; the dictionary translates this as "Household", "race, family" -- the connotation clearly being a family of worthy people (Kittel 1894: 1207). In Badagu the word is used to identify a Badaga lineage or extended family which is considered to have been descended patrilineally from the original settler of any hamlet. To say a family belongs to the gentry means

159 as a whole, the implication of the kick was that it was a direct insult to Lingan's
565 entire hamlet. And because the man who had given the kick was a member of the
672 gentry, the insult was considered to have come from his entire family. Knowing
592 all this, Lingan felt justified in making the attack on his friend. Belli recognized
(556) this fact and did not try to evade the implication; for to do so might bring his status
(627) as a member of the gentry into question. Belli therefore meekly apologized for his brother's behavior and, as he is a headman himself, thereupon fined himself four annas (5¢ U.S.) without calling any council to discuss the incident. He immediately handed the sum over to Lingan; but later gave his brother a stern lecture about his indiscretion."

This case makes a good illustration for the Badaga proverb, "The prestige
565 of a great man can depend on a small boy." The people expect more honorable,
672 even exemplary, behavior from the gentry than from others; and this expectation
592 applies as much to younger members of the gentry as to their elders. The rule making the head of a gentry family responsible for the behavior of all its members thus constrains the younger members to behave in a way that will not dishonor the
(556) family head and thus the family reputation. If younger sons err seriously, they are likely to be disinherited and lose the claim to the status of gentry.

During the hearing of disputes a council is normally confronted with con-
554 tradictory evidence. Whenever this happens they tend to evaluate the evidence not
695 only in terms of any sort of abstract logical consistency, but also with respect to
(562) the social status of the people presenting the evidence. The rules for evaluating
(565) contradictory evidence are therefore, I was told, that a headman should be believed
(609) before any other man, a higher-level (e.g. divisional) headman before a lower-
(561) level one, a man should be believed before a woman, a member of the gentry or

any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than anything men might say.

Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage. Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at stake: few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

578 insults and personal grievances. As we shall see, the fact that in-group solidarity
[657] is so strongly manifested in disputes ostensibly between two individuals is a common psychological basis for the growth of Badaga factional divisions, which typically evolve out of family feuds.

554 Historically and to some extent socially the hamlet can be seen as an
631 extension of its gentry, its founding family: Tuneri, for example, is said to be an
621 important village because its headman is the most important of all Nilgiri headmen.
565 This is an understandable position, for every resident of Tuneri is potentially more influential than people living in a hamlet with a relatively inferior headman. But Tuneri is also an unusually large village, and this fact gives it added prestige. In the same way that a family of the gentry used to increase in prestige by increasing its numbers, a hamlet can do likewise by an increase in population. This is simply because, in the traditional setting, the headman would receive more money gifts at the weddings of girls from his village, more income from fining his villagers, and the chance of a substantial "rake-off" when he collected grain to give to the Todas and Kurumbas at each harvest. This attitude finds clear expression in a Badaga saying: "If the number of his subjects increases, the headman of the village will become a big man."

631 During the last century, before Badagas had started to use the British
661 court system (there was only one magistrate's court in the Nilgiris), they were
662 entirely dependent on their own headmen for favorable treatment in the hearing of disputes. In those days, whenever a headman visited another village, he could expect much more generous hospitality than he would receive today, since it might prove necessary later to look to him for support in a case. The hospitable treatment typically consisted of a big feast, to which was often added a night with whichever of the village girls he chose. Feasting, girls, cloth and money might also be

121 We shall now consider the lower end of the "social ladder", the poorest Badaga families, so as to see how their lack of either affluence or influence affects their position in Nilgiri society.

There is very widespread agreement across India and Pakistan that certain occupations, and the jatis centered on them, are of low respectability. Among the commonest of such occupations are washerman, scavenger, barber, blacksmith, leather-worker, and basket-maker. In the Badaga economy, however, none of these (615) occurs as a regular kind of employment. The lowest phratry are the Toreyas, and their inferiority relative to the other phratries is explained by the fact that they act as messengers and "village servants" to the others. The duties of blacksmith, leather-worker and basket-maker, as we have already seen, are roles for members of some other tribes with which the Badagas interact; and thus these needs of the Badagas can adequately be met by local non-Badagas. How do Badagas handle the supposedly demeaning tasks of the washerman, the scavenger and the barber?

462 Women wash the family clothes, and it is not a shame for even a boy to wash clothes -- although adult men will not do it (Macpherson 1820: lix; Ranga 1934: 71). It is only the poorest of Badaga families who might supplement their 463 income -- and particularly if they own no land at all -- by washing the clothes of 554 others, however. Even in their case, this does not become a full-time occupation. In the same way only the poorest of Badaga men would act as barbers to richer men. For both these services payment used to be made in grain. One would never see two men shaving each other on a reciprocal basis, except among the very poorest who had made this a subsidiary occupation (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). The most demeaning of all services that a poor man might find himself obliged to (515) perform is that of shaving the pubic hair from richer men. It is common to remove

463 all pubic hair (though Badaga women do it for themselves) because it is thought
•554 unesthetic and is found to harbor lice and ticks. The disgrace attached to this
[515] occupation is well displayed in one of the great expressions of Badaga disdain:
"What can you do? -- You can't even shave my cock!" Badagas who are forced to
take up barbering because of poverty never make a full-time occupation of it,
especially as professional barbers are now generally available from other commu-
514 nities. So far as scavenging is concerned, there is no need at all to remove night
[783] soil from the houses, because Badagas always defecate either in the fields and
bushes, or in a special manure pit. The feces of small children are not considered
462 polluting and are easily removed from the house by anyone. All other cleaning and
sweeping around the house is done by the womenfolk living there.

178 Those Badagas who are neither gentry nor in the poverty-stricken category
565 show some signs of having achieved upward mobility over the past century or so.
There was traditionally a class of gentry, as we know, that was distinguished by
higher prestige and higher behavioral expectations. On the other hand there was in
all likelihood no class of poverty-stricken Badagas obliged to become barbers or
launderers until land pressure and the settlement of boundaries in the 1880's had
made it difficult for the disinherited and landless to find new farming land. Only
in the 80 or 90 years since that period has this landless class emerged at the bot-
tom of the status hierarchy. And as it emerged, the prestige of the gentry was
continuously on the wane. Both changes were related, as we shall see, to increas-
[556] ing Badaga involvement in the Indian cash economy. The middle class of peasant
families seems slowly to have decreased the gap in conduct and prestige that
separated them from the gentry families; until now the cash income of a family is
the clearest mark of its influence in the community. The aristocratic values of

517 Preferred movie theme:

No films seen	17.6%
All kinds	19.6%
Modern social themes	19.3%
Historical or religious themes	22.3%
Adventures and thrillers	2.0%
(Not ascertained)	19.3%

(125) The sample was drawn, on a random basis, from all Badaga hamlets in the stippled areas shown in the map on p. 30.

Transistor radios are highly valued but difficult to obtain in India. They 207 are valued partly as a prestige symbol and partly as a constant source of light (554) music. Only the wealthy Badagas own radio sets, but nearly every hamlet has at least one set, either privately owned or provided for public use by the government. Many tea-shops also have radios. It is therefore easy enough for people to hear the radio, even if they cannot own one. Radios in India carry much government propaganda, especially information directed toward the improvement of farming practices and village cooperatives. These broadcasts are not often heard in the Nilgiris, however, because the vast majority of sets are constantly tuned to light music coming from the commercial Radio Ceylon. In a sample of 420 Badaga men and women, 16.9% said they never listen to radio, 15.5% only heard music, 38.3% 207 517 (125) heard news as well as music, and 14.5% listened specifically to news broadcasts; only 1.6% of the sample mentioned informative talks as being of interest to them.

(125) (This sample, like all others in this study, was drawn only from the stippled areas shown on the map, p. 30. These areas were selected so as to represent the full range of economic activities, distances from towns, and relations with the settlements of other communities, throughout the Nilgiri Plateau.)

Employment

463 Prior to 1913 all Badagas were primarily agriculturists; for the great ma-
592 jority of the people this is still true today. Although as much as five months of the farming year is spent non-productively (Ranga 1934: 9-10), every member of the family, even the child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy.
241 Adults work in the fields, and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (Hark-
462 ness 1832: 114-15). Men do the heavier work, such as forking or plowing, and women do the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward 1821: lxx, lxxii; Ranga 1934: 8). Adolescents work as cowherds, and girls also take
241 883 care of small babies while the mothers are out in the fields (Harkness 1832: 113).
857 Children also do the preliminary work of cooking before the women return home
462 each day. As well as field-work, women do the main part of the cooking and are responsible for all of the house-keeping, including the laundry (Jagor 1876: 201-02).
887 People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village during the day-time (Jagor 1876: 194).

178 This pattern has been modified somewhat by the trend among the more
463 educated Badagas to work away from the village. At first a few Badagas were being employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and laborers, and throughout the District as teachers (Thurston 1909: I, 63; Ranga 1934: 8; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 248). During the First World War some young men worked in a muni-
(871) tions factory at Wellington. Then, in the 1920's, the first Badagas attended col-
• (550) leges and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians, M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s, nearly all of them coming from one family. More numerous are the doctors and lawyers. Other less well-educated Badagas who no longer follow their tradi-

S82 S83 (178) days the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whether of the gentry or not, will often be willing to pay a dowry in order to marry his daughter into another wealthy family.

178 •S54 S65 The wealthiest of Badaga families today are not necessarily members of the gentry at all, although formerly this was always true. It is the wealthy *parvenus* who have recently supplanted the traditional gentry in the ability to wield maximum influence and political power. How have such families become wealthy? S56 As we have seen (Chapter VI), some have been able to plant large areas with tea or coffee, and these estates have brought in tremendous profits; others have become contractors for various building projects -- the Nilgiri railway and the army barracks being major cases of this. Others again are middlemen, distributing fertilizers or dealing in potato crops. Yet others have been making money from the large-scale distribution of illicitly made liquor, ever since prohibition was instituted directly after Independence. Regardless of the way in which the money was 454 acquired in the first place, it is wherever possible invested in tea or coffee plantations, or perhaps in privately owned bus-lines. Such new-found capital is sometimes (S54) invested in Badaga businesses in Ootacamund or Coonoor, as well. Another type of investment is in the support of sons studying at universities; and this can S54 bring high prestige to a family in a short period of time. Men who can obtain deg- 871 rees in medicine or law are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, but (S56) those who manage to get only a B.A. or a B.Sc., whether by bribery or by hard work, find that it brings some prestige but rarely any additional income. Upwardly mobile families now wish their sons to take at least a bachelor's degree, but

S54 B71 farm the land rather than try to use their academic knowledge more profitably elsewhere.

It is these wealthy families who have led the way in introducing the idea S81 S83 (178) (177) of brides bringing a handsome dowry to their grooms. The custom is well known to Badagas because the Tamilians and Kanarese typically practice it. Payment of dowry also seems appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, for his high social status promises (871) secure support and enhanced status for the girl. While several hundred Badaga youths have now acquired college degrees, scarcely a dozen girls have. Hence nobody yet expects to be married to a girl whose intellectual training has gone beyond the high-school level. Girls, on the other hand, have a choice between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated husbands. Ability of a girl's father to pay a substantial dowry is one method of ensuring a prestigeful marriage with a college graduate, and so providing her with a husband capable of supporting her adequately in the changing conditions of the modern world. Dowry is not an old Badaga custom at all; but it is now fashionable in the context of what the Badagas conceive to be modern India.

S82 We must remember that the traditional marriage preference was for a cross-cousin; whether this was the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter, a Badaga youth more often than not found her in the very hamlet where his married sister lived. This is still quite common today: either he marries his sister's husband's sister, or else a related neighbor of that husband. S84 The practical problems in finding go-betweens and arranging a marriage alliance can be resolved more easily in this way: the boy has the excuse of visiting his sister while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides, and the

177 178 (242) the traditional ox-drawn plow (Ranga 1934: 11); and as a result of these technological changes Badagas had to develop new kinds of laboring patterns, involving contractors and non-Badaga workers. A whole nexus of new social relationships emerged: foodstuffs had to be bought in shops, cash had to be borrowed wherever it might be had, agents and middlemen had to be sought out and dealt with, lowland laborers had to be employed, European planters and government farming advisers had to be consulted, educated opinion had to be sought out.

178 648 (241) In the early years of this century a new way of life was being developed by the Badaga farmers. It was a way of life in which they could readily perceive that certain elements from the traditional culture were no longer practicable. The close and important tie with the Kotas was a case in point: Badagas often did not grow the millet crops they were customarily expected to give to the Kotas, and the rising grain prices led to a situation where traditional Kota products could be obtained much more cheaply by purchase in a bazaar. Finally, around the year 1928, relations with the Kotas were formally broken off by a majority of Badagas.

178 (559) (177) The initial change in agricultural practices led to other kinds of sociocultural change, too. These stemmed primarily from the fact that the Badagas were successful in their new ventures, and as a consequence were making cash profits on a scale never previously possible. New avenues for spending opened up, and new consumer goods appeared in the Badaga hamlets. Those who could find more land to buy did so: this is a familiar theme among the nouveauxriches of rural India (cf. Epstein 1962: 85 ff.). But not very much land has changed hands in this century, and few new areas have been opened up for farming recently. Profits have therefore necessarily been invested in other ways: large new houses have been built, watches, radios and other consumer goods have been brought into the

(454) (554)

178 community, and the education of one's sons have become new indicators of social
(459) status and agricultural success.
(554)

The easier access to wealth and higher education in the decades since 1913
(212) has brought further socio-cultural changes to the Badagas. For an agricultural community in India they have an unusually high rate of literacy (77.8% of males, 51.8% of females in 1963) and of knowledge about the nation, the government and international affairs. Much of this information is no more than conversation material; but it sometimes becomes relevant when unusual decisions have to be taken, or new regulations dealt with: how to get a loan for terracing fields, or where to go for a scholarship,
(184) for example. University education has led to the appearance of a new urban class of Badagas, who may still live in the natal village, but who maintain offices in the towns where they practice as doctors, lawyers or businessmen. A few Badagas are prominent in state and national politics, too. A random sample of 301 males in 1963 in-
(871) cluded 9.6% who had attended college.

These economic changes have taken place against a backdrop of steadily
489 improving communications media. All of the more populous villages are linked with
(178) the towns by regular bus services. There has been a railway service to the plains since the beginning of the century. Many of the middlemen who sell fertilizers or buy potatoes have their own trucks. A few of the more successful tea-growers
177 possess cars or jeeps as well. Most Badagas now spend one day a week in the nearest market town, where they not only buy provisions but also talk to acquaintances in the tea-shops, pick up the latest gossip, and see a Tamil film. Radio is used mainly as a channel for hearing light music, and is not so important as the films in introducing new, primarily urban, values and wants to the Badagas. It is probably no exaggeration to say that today every Badaga hamlet has easy access to

matter by Lambert (1962).

In another study by Lambert, this one of factory-workers in Poona (1963), he discusses the types of social change that accompany the "modernization" process. A comparable situation to that of these urban workers can already be seen in the "modernization" of the Badagas: Badagas are finding social mobility much easier and much more rapid than it was half a century ago; more complex divisions of labor are emerging with the appearance of labor contractors and college graduates among the ranks of the Badagas; people are becoming cognizant that their lot can be changed with effort as well as good luck. This last point can even be supported with some statistical evidence: in a sample of 420 Badagas (including 119 females), the following responses were given to the question, "Does success in life depend mainly on luck?" --

Yes, mainly on luck	47.4%
Both on luck and hard work	4.3
No, only on hard work	46.4
No, only on God's will	0.2
(Not ascertained)	1.7

("Luck", or "good fortune", was thought to be the factor which caused uncontrollable circumstances to act in favor of the individual. The English word luck or lakku is sometimes used in Badagu speech.)

Females stressed luck much more than hard work (61.3% favored luck, 31.9% hard work), whereas males showed an opposite bias (41.9% favored luck, while 52.2% stressed hard work). It is thus true of the Badagas that about half of them recognize the value of hard work (perhaps helped along by luck) in making a success out of their lives. The concept of success is not a new preoccupation in their economic activities; the concept of depending primarily upon one's own effort